142 Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a
[515] rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly
[302] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the
nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that
it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-
291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men
wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to
the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in
which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer hav-
ing a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of
thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions
292 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day
531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-
301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their
177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made
of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of
view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the
cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross
of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered
by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are
292 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old
177 black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of
white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their
red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who
in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt
hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it
may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his
elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The
622 Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their
177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one—yes of course—he
292 is a great gentleman—he can afford it—he not only wears a shell
301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another
long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given
by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable
or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears
especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity.
Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to
town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw
panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear
[293] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome;
instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with
a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

work is still more apparent than in the one here referred to, because these composite, wide elements are made to pass under and over one another several times instead of only once. This process is never employed except at the starting point of this form of basket.

In detail the technics employed by the Cayapa in their basketry are as described below. Further, in addition to its use in basketry, twilling is employed in making mats and fans, and wicker is used in certain burden-bands and in fan-handles.

WICKERWORK

Wickerwork, the simplest of the two-element technics, consists of the passing of a single active or woof element over and under successive passive or warp elements. The Cayapa employ this technic almost solely in connection with the material derived from the aerial root called pitigua and for the making of five forms of basketry: a burden-basket, a shallow rectangular basket, a bottle-shape bait basket, a more or less globose basket used in carrying fruits and as a general household utensil, and a long tubular basket used especially as a receptacle for spindles. Examples of burden-baskets are shown in pl. XCII, 4, 7, while the other forms are illustrated respectively in pl. XCIII, 1, 3, 4, 12.

Ordinarily the Cayapa wickerwork is comparatively tightly woven, as is shown in illustrations referred to. There are, however, two special types of wicker basket which are open in their technic. Both are made for the purpose of allowing water to pass readily through them, being used especially as cages for live crayfish which are

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

downward, then outward to a position in front of the next pair of warp elements, and finally inward and behind the next pair of these elements. Along the outer surface and directly opposite the above-mentioned horizontal splint, another is passed, and these two are secured by two splints passing spirally and in the same direction along the entire border in such manner as to fasten firmly the pairs of turned-down warp elements. 285

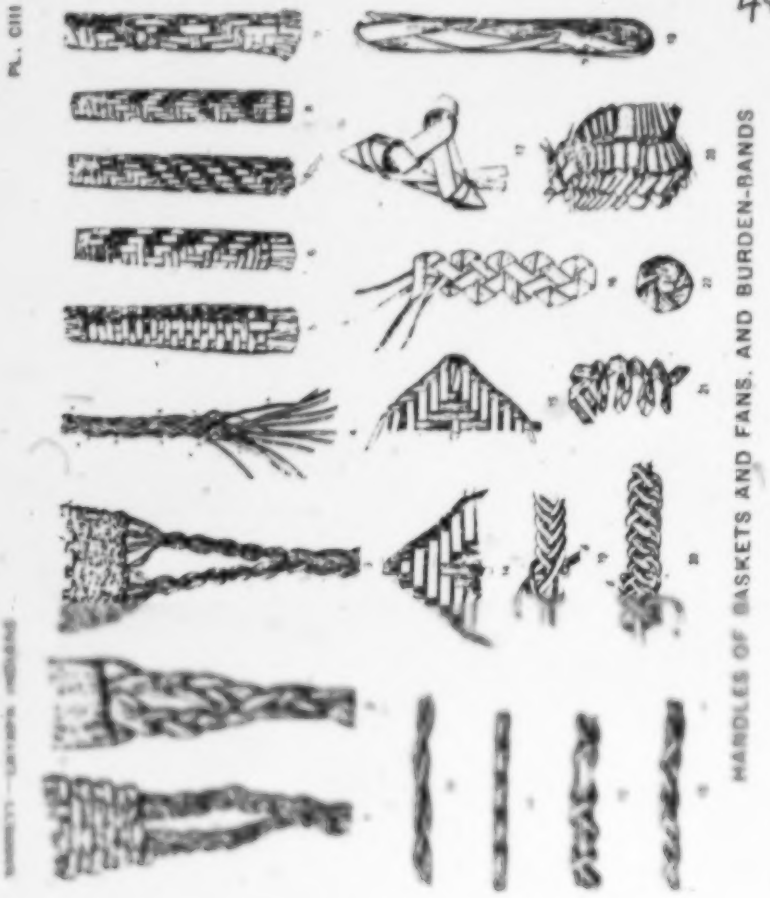
As above mentioned, the wicker technic finds slight use outside of basketry. It is employed in weaving the broad head-bands of the burden-straps which are made of pitigua or of the fibers from the leaf of the palma real, and occasionally in weaving the outer surface of the handle of a fan. In the use first mentioned the elements employed are fairly broad strips of pitigua, as shown in pl. CIII, 1. In the second, the warp elements are made by placing from four to six of the small cylindrical palma-real fibers side by side to form a broad and fairly rigid element. The woof element consists sometimes of but a single palma-real fiber, but usually of two placed side by side as shown in pl. CIII, 3. Occasionally more than two of these fibers are used in such a woof element. The surfaces of fan handles are almost always made, like the blades, in twilled technic, but occasionally one is found which is in wicker, as in the example shown in pl. CIII, 5. 285 293 [482]

TWILLING

The second technic consisting of two elements is twilling. This is employed in the making of hamper-shape baskets (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11): long, tubular 285 415

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285
293●
372
482



PL. CIII

HANDLES OF BASKETS AND FANS, AND BURDEN-BANDS

[p. 236 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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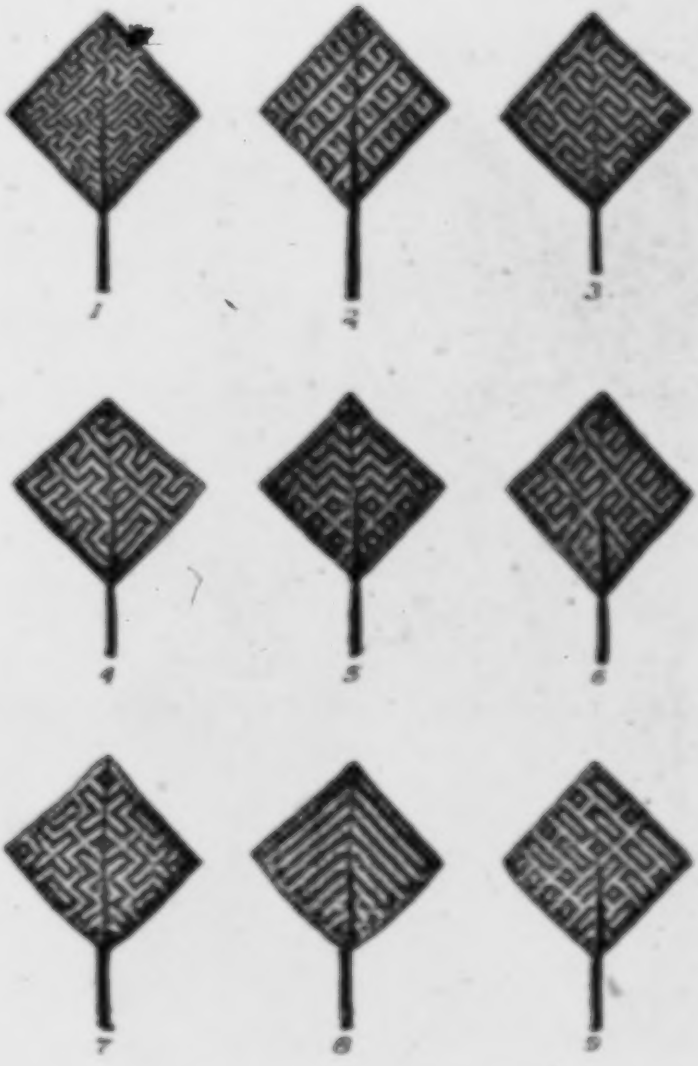

FANS

[p. 236(10)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the forehead, but is more frequently employed as a shoulder burden-band. 285 482

A second type of burden-band is that shown in pl. CIII, 1, which is made of pitigua and is called by the Cayapa te'tsû tañla. In this the head-band is made in wicker with fairly broad strips of pitigua used as warp and a broad strip of the same material passing back and forth as woof. These warp strips are then split and made in two small braids that later merge into one larger braid as is shown in the illustration last mentioned. This type of burden-band is used almost exclusively in connection with the flaring burden-basket, which is supported by the band passing across the forehead. The remaining two types are made of the slender but very strong fibers of the palma real and differ one from the other only in the technic of the cord. In one instance this cord is simply braided, as in the kuna-kuna bark and the pitigua bands just described. A section of one of these bands called in Cayapa nintcû'a tañla, is shown in pl. CIII, 3. The other band, called lû'ra balya tañla, has a cord which is square in cross-section and is produced by the intricate technic shown in fig. 4 of the same plate. The head-band in each case is made in the same wicker technic in which several palma-real cords are laid side by side to form a unit warp element, and a couple of these same palma-real fibers are placed side by side to form a unit woof element.

FANS

The Cayapa make extensively a special type of fan, called nyê've or nyiwê'wi, used for fanning the fire and 285 293 372

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 to a certain extent for fanning themselves. As is shown
293 in pl. CIV this fan is always square and has a substantial
372 handle extending from one corner. Almost the only
[320] material used for fans is the bark of the petiole of the fan-leaf palm. On rare occasions the bark of the hoja blanca is employed, and such fans almost always show a pattern in red produced by coloring one set of the twilling elements with achote. Both these materials are prepared in exactly the same manner as in making basketry.

285 The blade of the fan is always made in the over-three and under-three form of twilling, while the handle consists of a bundle of the elements which form the blade, this bundle having an outer surface of twilling or wickerwork, as shown in pl. CIII, 5–9. Such fans are usually eight or nine inches square, though they are sometimes larger and frequently smaller. The larger fans are used almost exclusively for fanning the fire, while the smaller ones are used for giving personal comfort.

285 Fans are decorated with a considerable variety of
531 geometric designs of the same character as those found on mats, and in lesser variety on twilled basketry. Pl. CV shows a number of these patterns, which in most instances are without special name and in no case are they symbolic, as has been pointed out in treating the decorative art of the Cayapa.

285 The exact manipulation of the splints used in fan-making is shown in pl. CIII, 14 and 15, which exhibit respectively the uppermost corner and the right-hand corner of the front or upper surface of the fan. In detail the manipulation is as follows: A single long